

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PEKING 02654 01 OF 02 141116Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----118752 141120Z /20
O 140910Z NOV 77
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9162

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 2654

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: CH, US, PDIP

SUBJ: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA

REF: STATE 272030; (B) STATE 259931

1. SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA PROVIDED ME WITH AN ANSWER ON THE SPOT TO THE MESSAGE ON NORMALIZATION WHICH I DELIVERED ON NOVEMBER 14. HIS BASIC LINE WAS "IF THE UNITED STATES HAS ANY NEW FORMULA, IT WILL BE WELCOMED AND WE CAN CONTINUE OUR EXPLORATION." ALTHOUGH HE OBVIOUSLY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF MY DEMARCH CONSTITUTED A "NEW FORMULA", HIS RESPONSE WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS POLEMICAL THAN I HAD EXPECTED AND CERTAINLY SOFTER AND MORE TEMPORIZING ON NORMLALIZATION THAN THE DIATRIBE HE DELIVERED TO THE SECRETARY ON AUGUST 23. HE REJECTED MY COMMENTS ON PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY CHINESE OFFICIALS, FOCUSING ONLY ON VICE PREMIER TENG'S TALK WITH THE ASSOCIATED PRESS DELEGATION. HE MADE A CUSTOMARY REMARK ABOUT APPEASEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES BUT DID NOT BRING UP SALT OR ANY OTHER SPECIFIC ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER I PRESENTED OUR RESPONSE ALONG LINES REF B
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ON NORMLAIZATION TO FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA, HE TOOK SEVERAL MINUTES TO REPLY AT LENGTH TO THE POINTS I HAD RAISED. HIS REMARKS AND MY INFORMAL RESPONSE WERE AS FOLLOWS:

3. HUANG HUA: ON THE ESSENCE OF THIS MATTER DURING THE VISIT OF SECRETARY VANCE TO PEKING HE AND VICE

PREMIER TENG HAD ONE CONVERSATION AND I HAD TWO DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM. ON THESE OCCASIONS THE CHINESE SIDE ALREADY COMMENTED ON THIS ISSUE AND SET FORTH ITS POSITION. THERE IS NO NEED TO MAKE ANY REVISION OF THE PRESENT CHINESE POSITION.

4. AFTER DISCUSSION IN PEKING. IN NEW YORK I CONVEYED TO SECRETARY VANCE CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG'S MESSAGE THAT THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS NOT A DIPLOMATIC QUESTION BUT A POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC MATTER. WE HOPE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WILL CONSIDER THIS QUESTION FROM A LONG TERM POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC ASPECT. THIS REMAINS THE CHINESE POSITION.

5. WHAT YOU HAVE SAID CONTAINS NOTHING NEW BEYOND WHAT SECRETARY VANCE HAS TOLD US. YOU HAVE ADDED SOME EXPLANATIONS.

6. YOU HAVE MENTIONED WITH REGARD TO THE NON-USE OF FORCE THAT THE US GOVERNMENT WAS NOT ASKING THE CHINESE SIDE TO UNDERTAKE ANY COMMITMENTS. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THIS IS AN INTERNAL CHINESE AFFAIR. NEVERTHELESS, THE UNITED STATES HOPES THAT THE TAIWAN QUESTION WILL BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY.

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7. THE CHINESE SIDE HAS EXPRESSED ITS OPINION MANY TIMES THAT WHEN AND HOW TAIWAN IS LIBERATED IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR THAT ALLOWS NO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE.

8. YOU ALSO MENTIONED THAT VICE PREMIER TENG HAD COMMENTED ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AMERICAN EMBASSY IN TAIWAN WITHOUT A SIGN. IN OUR ALKS WITH SECRETARY VANCE, THE CHINESE SIDE MADE VERY CLEAR THAT THIS PROPOSAL WAS A REVERSAL OF LIAISON OFFICES. SO THERE HAS BEEN NO MISUNDERSTANDING WHATSOEVER. IN OUR VIEW THIS IS THE ESSENCE OF YOUR PROPOSAL. AT THAT TIME I TOLD SECRETARY VANCE IT WAS TANTAMOUNT TO INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY "TWO CHINA" OR "ONE CHINA, ONE TAIWAN" PROPOSALS.

9. WE STILL HOLD THE VIEW THAT THE TAIWAN QUESTION IS CRUCIAL TO THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. IN THIS CONNECTION THE CHINESE SIDE CANNOT ACCEPT THE FORMULA MADE BY THE UNITED STATES THE LAST TIME. AS WE COMMENTED EARLIER THIS

WAS A STEP BACKWARD, NOT A STEP FORWARD. AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT YOU SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LONG TERM STRATEGIC POLITICAL ASPECTS AND NOT JUST CONSIDER IT A DIPLOMATIC QUESTION.

10. IF THE UNITED STATES HAS ANY NEW FORMULA TO PROPOSE TO OUR SIDE, IT WOULD BE WELCOME AND WE CAN CONTINUE OUR EXPLORATION. WE HOPE THAT WE CAN TAKE TIME AND DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME (IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE). BUT WE DON'T ASK THE US SIDE TO GIVE US AN IMMEDIATE REPLY. IF AT PRESENT YOU ARE UNABLE TO PROVIDE A NEW FORMULA WE CAN WAIT, AND CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSIONS LATER.

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11. I HAVE NOT FOLLOWED ALL THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY CHINESE OFFICIALS. BUT I BELIEVE STATEMENTS BY RESPONSIBLE CHINESE OFFICIALS CORRESPOND TO THE FACTS OF THE SITUATION AND HELP ENHANCE OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND HELP REDUCE MISUNDERSTANDING. THE CHINESE POSITION WITH RESPECT TO NORMALIZATION REMAINS THE SAME. THE THREE CONDITIONS REMAIN INSEPARABLE. TO BE SPECIFIC THESE ARE THAT YOU SHOULD REMOVE ALL YOUR TROOPS AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS FROM THE ISLAND, BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND END THE DEFENSE TREATY.

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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12. WE HOPE IN OUR CONTINUED EXPLORATION WE CAN SETTLE THIS ISSUE SO AS TO BRING ABOUT NORMLAIZATION.

13. DURING SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT TO PEKING AND MY TALKS WITH HIM IN NEW YORK, BOTH SIDES NOTED THAT WE SHARED MUCH COMMON GROUND ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AS WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION. IN SHORT, IT IS A QUESTION OF JOINING OUR EFFORTS TO COPE WITH THE POLAR BEAR.

14. WE HAVE RAISED SOME CRITICISM AGAINST THE UNITED STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THIS ISSUE. I REMEMBER SAYING TO SECRETARY VANCE IN PEKING THAT THERE EXISTED A TREND TOWARD APPEASEMENT AT LEAST AMONG CERTAIN PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. THAT WOULD AFFECT OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET EXPANSIONISM AND AGGRESSION. IT WILL ALSO AFFECT US RELATIONS WITH ITS ALLIES SUCH AS THOSE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND IN OTHER REGIONS. WE STILL HOPE THAT THE US SIDE WILL CONTINUE TO PAY ATTENTION TO THIS PROBLEM.

15. VICE PREMIER TENG TALKED ABOUT THE UNITED STATES FORMULA ON NORMALIZATION AT THE REQUEST OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS DELEGATION AND HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS A STEP BACKWARD, BECAUSE PRIOR TO THIS TALK WITH
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THE ASSOCIATED PRESS DELEGATION SOME SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE WHITE HOUSE HAD SAID TO CORRESPONDENTS THAT THERE WAS FLEXIBILITY ON THE CHINESE SIDE ABOUT TAIWAN AND THE VICE PREMIER FELT COMPELLED TO MAKE HIS STATEMENT. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE CHINESE SIDE HAD MADE CLEAR DURING THE TALKS IN AUGUST THAT THERE WAS NO FLEXIBILITY, AND THAT THE CHINESE POSITION WAS UNALTERABLE. I CANNOT AGREE WITH YOU THAT CHINESE STATEMENTS TO JOURNALISTS CAN IN ANY WAY HAVE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON US EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONS BECAUSE THE CHINESE POSITION IS WELL KNOWN.

16. IN OUR AUGUST TALKS WE SAID TO YOU THAT CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG'S POLITICAL STATEMENT AT THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS FORMALLY DESCRIBED THE CHINESE POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. THE CHINESE POSITION CANNOT BE CHANGED.

17. WOODCOCK: LET ME SAY THAT THE MESSAGE FROM CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG WAS CONVEYED TO OUR PRESIDENT. I MIGHT SAY ALSO THAT OUR SOCIETY IS ONE IN WHICH CLASHES OF OPINION ARE PUBLICLY CIRCULATED AND

SPECULATION IS INDULGED IN FREQUENTLY. IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THAT PRESS REPORTS INDICATED "FLEXIBILITY" ON THE CHINESE SIDE. CERTAINLY, THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN OUR MEETINGS KNEW THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. THE CHINESE POSITION WAS CLEARLY STATED AS IT HAS BEEN AT ALL TIMES IN THE PAST. AND WHEN WE REFER TO STATEMENTS MADE BY SENIOR CHINESE OFFICIALS WE CERTAINLY DO NOT PRESUME TO TELL CHINESE OFFICIALS WHAT TO SAY, WE ARE ONLY TRYING TO SAY THAT IN OUR SOCIETY THEIR STATEMENTS MIGHT SOMETIMES BE A HINDRANCE TO REACH AN END WE BOTH DESIRE.

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18. IN AUGUST HERE IN PEKING SECRETARY VANCE SAID WE WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE THREE PRINCIPLES. WE PROPOSED A FORMULA TOWARDS WHICH STRONG AND ELOQUENT STATEMENTS IN OPPOSITION WERE MADE BY VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

19. MY INSTRUCTIONS DO NOT INCLUDE A NEW FORMULA TO SOLVE THE DILEMMA AT THIS TIME. I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT, HOWEVER, WHAT I SAID EARLIER, THAT WE BELIEVE THAT WE UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF YOUR CONCERNS ON THE REPRESENTATION ISSUE. OUR POSITION WILL TAKE THEM INTO ACCOUNT. FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT THE COMMITMENT CONTINUES ON THE PART OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.
WOODCOCK

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHMENT, MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 14-Nov-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PEKING02654
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: OA
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P850056-1753
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From: PEKING
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Litigation Code IDs:
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Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 STATE 272030, 77 STATE 259931
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 601841
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA
TAGS: PDIP, CH, US, (WOODCOCK), (HUANG HUA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/20e4f31a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009